1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

quality of any tract of grazing land is seldom homogeneous. In these circumstances the best grass must be reserved for the pregnant ewes to strengthen them before lambing, and afterwards to maintain their milk yield at the highest possible level. For the prosperity of the stani depends on the crop of lambs and the amount of milk that is sold to the cheese merchant.

The physical plan of a stani in winter varies in detail with the character of the grazing but certain features are almost always present. The huts of the stani, the group of co-operating families, are established on or close to the best grassland, on flat ground, sheltered from the prevailing wind, and as near as possible to water, although in practice a spring or well may be a mile away and sometimes farther. The huts are generally close together but in no regular pattern; although if brothers, as is generally the case, form the nucleus of the group, they build their homes next to one another with the huts of cousins and other relatives on the periphery. The size of the winter stani varies. It is restricted, as I have suggested in the previous chapter, by the difficulties of finding enough winter grazing land. But a lower limit is also drawn by the minimum requirement of four active adult shepherds and a young goatherd, a working force that makes it barely possible to work the scheme of shepherding that has been described.

In November, when the sheep arrive from the mountains, the pregnant ewes are not allowed to pasture indiscriminately on the better grasslands (γαλαροτόπι) reserved for their use after lambing. Until Christmas, when the lambing period begins, they graze only on the rougher and higher sections of this grassland perhaps a mile, or more, from the huts. In this area the women help the shepherds to build a circular sheep-fold (γρέχι) constructed from bundles of brushwood tied to one another and sometimes secured to posts. In this the ewes sleep and find some relief from the cold and the driving rain. Outside the women erect a small refuge of branches and thatch (γαλατζούκα) for the two shepherds who guard them.

In the early days of December the women tie together branches to make wooden frames, 5 ft. 6 in. in height and 4 ft. wide (λιπές), on which they interlace other more pliable branches and bind bundles of reeds, grass, or ferns. With these portable frames the shepherds and their women set up another

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

circular sheep-fold on level well-drained land close to the huts. Each frame leans towards the centre at an angle of 60° to the ground and is supported by a forked branch. In the lee of this inclined wall the animals press together for warmth and protection. During the last days of December and the first ten days of the New Year most of the lambs are born. As each ewe drops its lamb, the two animals are brought down from the pen on the rough pasture at dawn and dusk by relays of unmarried girls, and are placed in the new sheep-fold close to the huts. By the middle of January the whole flock of ewes with their lambs is together once more. Once the lambs are born the yield of milk becomes the main concern. The ewes are now grazed intensively on the best grassland which is divided into plots or strips (ἀπολυσιές) used in daily rotation. Under present conditions, however, few stanis possess enough winter grassland, and for some weeks before lambing and until the move to the mountains in the spring, the milking ewes are also fed each morning with weighed quantities of maize, oats, or cotton-cake.

On the first of February the cheese merchant sets up his station (μπατζαρειό) close to the grassland of the largest stani in the neighbourhood. In return for this convenience the women of this stani build two thatched huts; in one the cheese-maker and his assistant sleep, work, and keep their equipment, cauldrons, churns, and the cream separator; the other, which is entered only through a low trap-door from the first hut, and is sunk three feet below the surface of the ground, is used for the storage of the cheeses[3] on beds of fern leaves under the necessary conditions of stillness and humidity. The women must also supply the cheese-maker with water and firewood.

Cash and credit at this time of year are very short for the Sarakatsani and there is now a great urgency to sell milk. Every effort is made to wean the male lambs quickly. The ewes are seldom allowed to suckle these lambs for longer than four weeks before they are sold to an animal dealer for the spring lamb market; a few only are kept back to maintain the right proportion of rams to ewes in the flock. This sale of lambs brings

[3] Cheese merchants separate some of the cream to make butter. From the separated milk they make a hard cheese known as κεφαλοτύρι; and, then, from the remaining liquid a form of cheese known as μυζήθρα.

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

This sale of lambs brings in an immediate sum of money, and if the quantity of milk then released is an encouraging amount the merchant may be persuaded to make another advance of credit. Before the first of February the shepherds will have prepared the milking pen (στρούγκα) as close as possible to the cheese-maker's station. The pen is a circular or elliptical enclosure of stones or brushwood with a wide opening, or 'mouth', at one end through which the sheep are driven in, and a narrow opening, or 'eye', at the other end through which the sheep are taken in turn to be milked by the shepherds who sit on flat stones on either side of this narrow passage. At first in the early days of February only a little milk is taken, for the ewes are still with their lambs. But the amount steadily increases after the sale of the male lambs. However, none of the ewe lambs is sold unless the family is in great difficulty. And anxious as the Sarakatsani are to sell all their milk they will not endanger their development by weaning them too quickly; for the future of the flock depends upon the condition of these animals, which in two years' time produce their first lambs. The ewes are allowed to suckle them for seven or eight weeks and it is not until early March that they are finally weaned or 'cut', and that the flow of milk to the cheese-maker becomes considerable.

The three other flocks of the stani divide the remaining grazing according to their needs. The best of this is allotted to the young 'zigouria', the lambs of the previous season. The flock of rams, with the ewes which remained sterile after the summer mating, go to the highest and roughest grazing since they are strong and resistant to cold, and this is generally the most distant flock of sheep from the huts. In both cases a sheep-fold of brushwood, and refuges of branches and thatch for the shepherds, are built to protect animals and men from the winter storms and rain.

The goats guarded by one or two young and nimble goatherds feed on whatever is unsuitable or inaccessible to the sheep, especially the leaves of scrub-oak and other trees and bushes. Since goats seldom represent more than 20 per cent of the total stock of Sarakatsan families from Zagori no attempt is made to form more than one flock. At the end of November after they have repaired or remade the family huts the women begin to build the elaborate goat-pen with latticed sides at least six feet

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

high, and a narrow three-foot wide roof of thatch inclined towards the centre of the pen, which has an elliptical form. Goats are less resistant to cold weather than sheep, and the kids which are born towards the end of December very easily contract pneumonia during the first six weeks of life. After the kids are born the goats graze during the day on rough ground not too far distant from the pen which is itself positioned close to the huts but away from the sheep-fold. They return in the evening to feed their kids during the night, but the latter remain in the pen during the day enclosed for warmth in a small conical thatched shelter (τσάρκος) built into the wall at the far end of the pen. But the Sarakatsani add that a further reason for keeping them in the pen during the day is that they are greedy and ferocious feeders. After four weeks the women begin to feed the kids with the leaves of bushes which they cut and carry into the pen. Each day they are grazed for an hour or two on any convenient piece of rough ground. Finally, in the early days of March the goatherds 'cut' the kids from their mothers, and the flock returns to its distant pastures. The kids sleep alone in the pen each night and are grazed by a young boy during the day.

The summer dispositions of the stani are different and simpler. The leader of a stani is allotted by the president of the village two areas of grazing: one for milking ewes, and another for the remainder of his flock—the rams and sterile ewes, and the winter's ewe lambs (the 'sterpha', and the 'zigouria') which are now merged into one flock. The two areas are not necessarily adjacent and both are generally far from the village, two or three hours' steep climbing away. The families remain in the village in houses or huts and are able to turn away from their exclusive concern for the animals which held every moment of their attention during the winter months. The difficult period of the year is over and they now turn outwards, as it were, to the affairs of the total community, to betrothals, marriages, quarrels, and mutual criticism; and to their relations of clientage and hostility to the villagers of Zagori.

Meanwhile, however, the Sarakatsani continue to sell their milk throughout June and until the last days of July. A cheese merchant sets up a station positioned to serve a number of neighbouring grazing areas. And where the boundaries of these

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

grazing areas permit the arrangement, four or five milking pens of different stanis may be conveniently within sight of the cheese-maker's hut.

Summer is not entirely without its anxieties. In June the rams are allowed to run with the milking ewes, each ram, on average, covering twenty-five ewes. An early and successful mating season (μαρκάλος) is important because it promises few sterile ewes, lambing before the hard winter weather sets in, and earlier supplies of milk. Before the end of July the cheese-maker departs, and the shepherds begin to enjoy a period of relative ease. What milk the ewes continue to give during the early days of August before lactation finally ceases, is used, like the milk that is taken before the first of February and during the ten days of the journey to the mountains, to make a rough 'feta' cheese for the family's own use.

* * *

The needs of the sheep in a particular physical and political environment, and the arrangements made by the Sarakatsani to meet them, have certain consequences for Sarakatsan social life. One of these concerns seasonal differences. In the winter the community is geographically more dispersed, stanis travel far in different directions to find their winter grass and very often they do not have other Sarakatsani as their immediate neighbours. On the other hand the stani itself is physically more concentrated. A sheep requires only a quarter of an acre of good grass in the plain as against half an acre or more in the mountains. The stani is turned in on its own affairs. The huts of the stani are on the grazing land and the group of families is concerned almost exclusively with the problems of lambing, milk, and the protection of the animals against cold and wolves. In the summer, for reasons which have been mentioned in the previous chapter, stanis are generally smaller, and sometimes may be no larger than a single family. The stani is also dispersed. The families live in houses or huts in the village, the shepherds with the two flocks of sheep and the goats are far above the village, and are separated from one another. Yet the community itself is more concentrated than in winter. In the local group of families that graze the land of the same village, the huts or houses of the different families are in sight and often

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

233 474 571 578 one another on terms of hostility and reciprocal trespass. Yet even then, if we consider the community as a whole, the directions in which the shepherds of one stani may show active aggression are limited, as also are the form and degree of its expression, simply because a shepherd cannot leave his sheep. And this also makes it possible for unrelated shepherds to feel, but not very often to express, an intensity of hostility for one another that would otherwise reduce a vulnerable community of shepherds to a condition of anarchy if confrontations were more numerous than, in fact, they are.

2. THE SHEPHERDS

825 828 For the Sarakatsani, sheep and goats, men and women, are important and related oppositions with a moral reference. Sheep are peculiarly God's animals, and their shepherds, made in His image, are essentially noble beings. Women through the particular sensuality of their natures are inherently more likely to have relations with the Devil; and goats were originally the animals of the Devil which Christ captured and tamed for the service of man. It is consistent with these ideas that sheep and shepherds in their respective animal and human worlds display ideal moral characteristics. Sheep are docile, enduring, pure, and intelligent. When the shepherd carries out a small veterinary operation or when the ewe gives birth, the animal suffers [577] in silence. To match this purity and passive courage shepherds ought to be fearless and devoted guardians, and clean in the [234] ritual sense. After sexual intercourse a shepherd must carefully [234] wash his hands before milking sheep and it is generally preferable that the two shepherds of the flock of milking ewes should be unmarried men.

233 461 [577] Whether or not shepherds require quite the degree of courage that the values of the community insist they do, is open to doubt. Perhaps devotion, endurance, and a head for heights, would be a more objective assessment. Two experienced shepherds, preferably men between twenty-five and thirty years of age, guard the pregnant or milking ewes. Another young and active shepherd follows the flock of last season's lambs, the 'zigouria'. One or two older but not necessarily intelligent men watch the rams and sterile ewes, the 'sterpha'. Young shepherds before their military service often serve their apprenticeship with the

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

233 udder and that the ewe and lamb recognize one another by
461 smell. For this reason, too, the sheep-fold must be moved to dry ground when it becomes fouled by mud and excrement since
[232] this makes recognition by smell difficult. Sometimes when a ewe has a difficult delivery the shepherd must try to manipulate
[136] the lamb into the correct position to ease its passage. At night, in bad weather, and with the ever present menace of wolves, these various operations are exceedingly difficult.

233 With the establishment on the first of February of the cheese-
234 maker's station the ewes whose lambs have been weaned are
461 milked twice a day at dawn and dusk. Any men of the stani, including the tselingas, who are not away with the other flocks, come to assist the two shepherds of the milking ewes. There is competition to discover who is the strongest milker, who draws off most milk into his bucket and milks the greater number of sheep without suffering cramp in his hands. But there is a more general anxiety about the total quantity of milk taken at each milking and the shepherds watch apprehensively for symptoms of a disease that attacks the udder and turns milk to water (παρμάρα). The Sarakatsani say that shepherds have a great σεβντάς for lambing and milking, a word perhaps impossible to translate, which includes the ideas of love and longing, anxiety
[254] and envy. It follows that the milking-pen is the part of the stani
[208] most threatened by the evil eye of other shepherds, and also the part of the stani where the shepherds are careful to deploy different objects such as a viper's head or an egg dyed red on the Thursday of Easter week which have the power to neutralize this pervasive and destructive force of envy, as well as more direct attacks by the Devil.

233 The next demand upon the strength of the shepherd comes
221 in the early days of May when the stani sets out for the moun-
461 tains. This is a moment almost of festival. The sheep again carry their bells which are not worn in the winter. As well as their practical function of identifying the flock they express the joy of the stani that the difficult winter period is over and its pride in the appearance of its flock. But the journey itself is not
[64?] pleasurable for the shepherd. Particularly in recent years it has become difficult to find grazing on the road and there are hostile and sometimes violent encounters with villagers and agricultural guards. The sheep travel eight to ten miles each night on

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

a road which is often congested with the flocks of other stanis. 233
In the dark and on ground he does not know the shepherd must 221
try to graze his sheep where he can, prevent them from mixing 461
with the animals of other flocks, and guard them from village [685]
or Sarakatsan thieves for whom the conditions are an opportunity and a temptation. At dawn they try to find some grass, 233
and here the mule-train (καραβάνι) with the older men, women, 234
and children, overtakes them to prepare a temporary milking- 221
pen. After the animals have been milked the women at once 461
begin to turn the milk into cheese, and later to bake bread. [492]
Meanwhile the shepherds graze the sheep until about 11 a.m. when the animals lie down to rest in the heat of the day. They are milked again in the evening before setting out on the next leg of their journey. But the women remain to make the cheese for the second time in the day, and to take a few hours of sleep before they move swiftly through the night to overtake the sheep once again. After a journey of perhaps ten days they finally reach their homeland, the high mountains of Zagori.

In the mountains shepherding practice changes. The sheep 233
graze at night in the cool air when their appetite is stronger. 234
At dawn the animals are watered and about 9 o'clock they are 461
milked. They then 'sleep in the shade' (σταλίζουν) until the late afternoon when they are milked again before setting out to graze in the fresh evening air. About once in every eight days 233
salt is spread on flat stones. They eat this greedily and are 461
watered immediately afterwards, a treatment which increases their will to graze in the summer heat, and is believed to strengthen them for successful mating.

The quality of physical courage, on which the Sarakatsani [577]
put so much emphasis in their list of the ideal attributes of the shepherd, is perhaps more necessary in summer than winter. Moving along, or over, the broken limestone ridges in the darkness from one plateau of grass to another requires a very sure foot and steady nerves. Sheep sometimes get into difficulties and have to be rescued. If an animal falls into a crevasse and breaks a leg it must be extricated, the limb bound and splinted, and the animal carried down the mountain to the village.

Immediately before or after the migration to summer pas- 233
tures, the animals are shorn. Already at the end of March some 236
wool has been taken from their legs and haunches but the full 461

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

233 shearing is delayed until the warmer weather. Shearing, too,
236 marks the passing of the winter and is considered a festival.
461 On the final day there is meat, wine, and dancing. Like the journey from the plains it is also hard work for the shepherd, giving him, however, an opportunity to prove his expertise and strength. In a highly competitive atmosphere before the appraising eyes of each other and the women, the men of the stani gather in the sheep-fold to clip the fleeces of the different flocks. A strong and skilful man may shear sixty animals in a day.

233 The cycle of shepherding activities continues with the mating
461 season in June or July, the date depending on the condition of
[234] the animals. Then, in the last days of July, the cheese merchant closes his station and gradually with the reduced flow of milk from the pregnant ewes the shepherds milk their animals less frequently until, some time in the first half of August, lactation ceases. At length the shepherds pause and rest.

When the shepherds arrive in the mountains their mood changes almost abruptly from an expectation of the worst to guarded optimism. Since the autumn they have suffered anxiety, crisis, and frequently physical exhaustion in their efforts to avoid disaster to the lambs, a small milk yield, or disease. These dangers do not exist, or are less considerable, in
[578] the summer. At this season the systematic practice of reciprocal grass theft, the sometimes accidental trespass, the intermingling of two flocks when they converge on the cheese-maker's station at milking time, are all situations which may precipitate quarrels with unrelated shepherds that threaten life and honour, but they are not possibilities that cause the shepherd much apprehensive concern. In personal oppositions he is confident in his own strength and courage, he depends on nothing outside himself. On the other hand, whatever skill a shepherd may possess, the dangers which threaten the flock in winter often depend on factors or elements beyond his individual control.
[735] Yet extreme poverty, which is a possible consequence of such a disaster, destroys honour and sometimes takes the lives of small children.

233 The Sarakatsan shepherd identifies himself with his animals.
825 Their condition is almost as personal a concern as his own health and appearance. If a sheep is stoned by another man,
[572] the shepherd's honour is touched.

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

233
234

1. Milking

[facing p. 32]

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

which through common membership can commit him to any duty towards persons with whom he is not related by kinship or marriage. Indeed, any relationship with an unrelated person would be regarded by other members of the family as a form of betrayal. For a man's energies and affections belong to his family and his relatives, and to nobody else. This explains why personal friendship with an unrelated person, based simply on liking and sympathy, is impossible. There is devoted friendship between cousins, but even here we have seen that such an association is immediately sacrificed if any friction develops between the two families. The solidarity of the family resides in its exclusiveness and opposition to those who do not belong. And any relationship between one of its members and an outsider, which is not shared by the others, necessarily weakens it.

The mutual distrust of unrelated families emerges very clearly on those rare occasions when for some specific purpose they are forced into co-operation. During the summer a hut is established high in the mountains above the village so that the various shepherds who have sold their milk to a particular merchant are able to deliver it twice a day to his agents who at once turn it into cheese. Towards the end of July these operations come to an end, and it is then the responsibility of those selling their milk to the merchant to carry down to the village on their mules the machinery, utensils, and the mass of accumulated cheeses. The cheese-maker and his assistant calculate from their books the total quantity of milk which each family has delivered during the whole summer, and in proportion to these quantities each family is allotted so many mule-loads of cheeses and equipment, which it is their duty to transport as far as the village. But the assessment of these loads by the cheese-maker is not accepted without many amendments and bitter wrangling. The cream separator for instance is a heavy, awkward thing to load on a mule. Who is to say what the equivalent in cheeses or smaller pieces of equipment may be? Each family is determined not to be outmanœuvred by the others into performing any service which can possibly be avoided, and no trust is placed by anybody in the impartiality of the cheese-maker. It sometimes happens that the family which has sold the largest quantity of milk has only one mule, while another group with only a small flock possesses three or four pack

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

571 609 578 476 234 animals. But this never leads to a comradely offer of assistance which might finish the task in a single mule train. A man with a single animal may have to struggle three or four times in the day up and down to the village while the man with three or four mules sits and watches as his animals graze in idleness.

All social relations between unrelated persons are pervaded by this attitude of distrust. We may recall how sometimes in marriage negotiations the girl's family try to conceal her shortcomings and attempt by implication to suggest that a more attractive younger sister is the prospective bride. A man and his family distrust unrelated people because they expect to be exploited and tricked by them. They admit that they themselves would act in a similar manner. They say that a man must protect his family, and to do this in the world as he finds it some cunning and some lies are necessary.

571 609 578 685 554 Before 1937, the mutual hostility of unrelated families found an institutionalized form of expression in the custom of 'animal theft' (ζωοκλοπή), more especially of sheep. Although the severity of the penalties introduced by the government of Metaxas effectively stifled this activity almost overnight, most of the heads of families are old enough to remember the alarms and excitements of sheep theft. The desire to steal is still privately expressed (and occasionally indulged in) and the qualities of courage and intelligence which were necessary in these adventures are still the ideal attributes of the hero and 'pallikari'. As we shall see, theft of another sort has now replaced it. But one cannot doubt that but for the pressure of the State law sheep theft would still be a vigorous institution.

602 The more general form of sheep theft was the small-scale expedition undertaken by a lone individual or in company with one or two trusted kinsmen. The object was to steal one or two sheep from the flock of an unrelated man, transport the animals with speed to the huts of the families involved where the sheep were at once killed, roasted, and eaten, as a precaution against the discovery of incriminating evidence. Sheep were never stolen from kinsmen or affines and generally not from other flocks in the immediate vicinity. This precaution was taken not from any neighbourly spirit, but because it was realized that, if two neighbouring groups engaged in a sequence of theft and counter-theft, shepherding would soon become impossible, and the

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori
Greece EH1

of its debt in the early summer when it has reaped the harvest of milk, meat, and wool. The last twenty years, and especially the years since the war, have seen a new situation in which the shepherds have sold an increasing proportion of their annual produce, have themselves spent more money (not solely on the needs of physical subsistence), and have become, generally speaking, deeply and permanently indebted to merchants.

Only three of the 42 Sarakatsan households at Neochori have assets, which suggest that each summer they are virtually clear of debt. Speaking very generally, for these details are hard to collect and even harder to check, the average weight of debt carried by each elementary family is about £100. Only when a family of man, wife, and small children, has at least 200 sheep is there generally the possibility of it being relatively free of debt. But it is impossible to express the matter in a simple numerical statement, much depends on the price a family is forced to pay for its winter grazing. This may vary between such wide limits as half a crown and ten shillings per head of stock.

The need of the many semi-nomad pastoralists in the Epirus, not only Sarakatsani, to find a market for their produce is the merchant's opportunity. The most valuable of these products is the milk of the ewes. The constituent families of co-operating 'companies' of shepherds are generally so deeply in debt that they are discouraged from the further heavy borrowings which would be necessary for the rent or purchase of equipment to turn their own milk into marketable cheese. And since there are no large urban populations in the Epirus, the large quantities of butter, cheese, and meat must find their principal outlet in the Athenian market; but for the distribution of their products in the metropolitan area the shepherds have neither the facilities nor the knowledge.

The ewe gives substantial quantities of milk for six or seven months in the year, between the time when it drops its lamb in January and the establishment of its pregnancy once more in July or August. The spring milk is sold in the winter pastures between 1st of February and the 20th of May. After the ten-day migration to the summer pastures the milk is again sold in the Zagori between the 1st of June and a date within a few days of the end of July. The milk which is taken during the move into

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori
Greece EH1

The milk which is taken during the move into the mountains, before the 1st of February, and after the last week in July, is made into a rough cheese and stored for the use of the family.

In each area where a merchant collects milk he establishes a cheese-maker (μπάτζος) with an assistant. These men are paid and fed by the merchant, who also provides the necessary equipment, the cream separator, cauldrons, cheese boards, and rings. The shepherds who bring their milk to the cheese-making hut (μπατζαρειό) are responsible for its construction and for supplying it with water and firewood. It is not economical for a cheese-making station to serve less than 1,000 ewes, and the upper limit beyond which the quantities of milk become too great for a single cheese-maker to handle may be set at about 2,500 sheep. The spring milk is three times greater in quantity than the summer milk[6] and the more important merchants concentrate their main activities and have their headquarters in the winter pastures, but they also buy some summer milk in the various districts of the Pindus mountains of which the Zagori is one.

Before 1945 the cheese merchants in winter or summer were small *entrepreneurs* seldom controlling more than two or three cheese-making stations. Between 1944 and 1949 currency inflation and Communist insurrections ruined many of these men. Only the stronger and abler merchants survived. The financially strong merchant was able to steal the custom of his weaker competitors by offering more substantial credits at a time when the shepherds needed a larger cash income than formerly, but were also slipping farther into debt. Today in the winter pastures there are a number of merchants with five or six stations but few with less. The situation in the winter pastures, especially in Thesprotia, is dominated by the merchant 'X' who controls 45 stations drawing on the milk production of 50,000 ewes. He also has a wholesale agency in Athens through which his butter and cheese have a secure market outlet to the metropolitan consumer.

The establishment of a cheese station requires, in the first

[6] Winter milk production varies considerably. One stani produced 38 okes per ewe in 1945 and as little as 13½ okes per ewe in 1954. Generally for the period 1950–5, milk production in winter has varied between 20 and 24 okes per ewe. Summer production is more stable at 7 to 9 per ewe. An oke of milk is equivalent to 2·35 pints.

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14 •
Zagori
Greece EH1

The establishment of a cheese station requires, in the first place, a capital outlay of some £85 for the equipment, of which the most expensive item is the cream separator. Working capital for a spring station includes the wages of the cheese-maker and his assistant at 12*s.* 6*d.* and 6*s.* 3*d.* a day respectively, the cost of their food, and large quantities of salt for treating the cheeses. Altogether it amounts to about £125. The normal advances on the milk represent between one-third and one-half of its value and involve the issuing of credits for some £500. Working capital and the money for these credits is borrowed by the merchant from banks and private individuals. The bigger merchants store a substantial part of the cheese and butter which they make in the spring and summer and bring it forward on the metropolitan market in the later months of the year when milk products are scarcer and their prices higher. The money which is borrowed to give the August milk advances to the shepherds is secured against the cheeses in store. But the rate of interest on all these loans is unlikely to be much less than 10 per cent. In general, a merchant expects to make a gross profit of about 3*d.*–4½*d.* on every 'oke' of milk which he handles. Since the pastoralist receives about 1*s.* 1½*d.* for every 'oke' of milk which he sells, it cannot be said that he suffers from an outrageous exploitation. This is not the result of the merchant's benevolence. He is caught between two limits, the highest price which consumers in distant places can be persuaded to pay for milk products and the marginal price to shepherds which will just make it possible for them to live and maintain their flocks. For if the flocks vanish, so will the cheese merchants. The margin between these two limits is not wide. The prosperity of the individual merchant depends on his cornering a very substantial supply of milk and aiding the shepherds who sell it to him to maintain that level of production or even increase it. By the extension of interest-free credits, which in fact are seldom entirely repaid, he binds the interests of the shepherd to his own and assists him to maintain his way of life in the face of increasing difficulties. But the extension of credit also enables the Sarakatsanos to assume a style of life which goes beyond the absolute needs of subsistence. The Sarakatsanos has achieved this at the expense of the merchant but also at the cost of binding himself even more firmly to the merchant's will. That it pays a merchant of the stature of 'X' cannot be doubted. By

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori
Greece EH1

sustaining a burden of debt and advance payments of perhaps £20,000 he makes an annual net profit on the spring milk alone of about £8,000.

The Sarakatsan financial year (see Appendix III) begins and ends in August, when the shepherd takes the advance for his winter milk, which represents between one-third and one-half of the value of the estimated winter yield of milk. A man with 200 ewes would receive about £100. With some of this money he is able to complete his payments for summer grazing. This he is normally bound to do before the police will allow him to move his sheep towards the plains in the autumn. He hopes to leave the Zagori village in October with perhaps one-third of this advance still in his pocket to tide his family over their general living expenses in the early winter months. During the winter months there is a constant struggle between the shepherd and the merchant for further loans. The original advance is generally almost exhausted by Christmas, especially if cotton-cake has been bought to supplement the diet of the pregnant ewes. The merchant tries to stave off further requests for additional advances since he does not want to carry an unnecessary weight of debt beyond the amount that is necessary to hold the shepherd as a client. He keeps the shepherd physically alive by granting him credit in the form of flour. In this way he checks luxury spending by the shepherd at his expense and makes, on paper at least, a small profit for himself by selling on credit flour of questionable quality at a slightly inflated price. The shepherd and his family exist as best they can, running up small debts with the shopkeepers in the winter villages and towns who themselves compete for his trade by offering credit which they hope will make him a permanent customer. Eventually some crisis occurs. He must have money to engage a lawyer in a court case, or money to pay a doctor or to bribe an official. He goes to the cheese merchant and explains the situation. The latter, if he is astute, knows the critical moment when he must slacken the reins; a further *ad hoc* advance is given.

Some weeks before Easter the financial outlook may improve. There may be fifty or more male lambs to sell at about thirty shillings each. Later, after Easter, the sheep are shorn and, if there are no daughters for whose dowry blankets and cloth must be woven, some wool will be sold. A shepherd tries to keep

[see category 116, pp. 363-364 -- Analyst]

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori
Greece EH1

these transactions secret from his cheese merchant but generally with only partial success. In April the shepherds hurry to meet the summer cheese merchants, conclude their agreements, and take an advance on their summer milk which for 200 ewes will be about £30. But this spate of spring revenue is often quickly dissipated in paying the heavy costs of winter pasturage, possibly of more legal wrangles, and sometimes of an Easter wedding. The celebration of Easter also brings its expenses. New shirts and shoes are bought for the family, cloth is sent to the tailors to be made up into new jackets and trousers. For if the family attends the Easter church service in old clothes it loses prestige. Also it is believed that at the service on Easter Saturday night each person ought to wear something that is new, to honour the resurrection of Christ.

About the middle of May the heads of shepherd families visit the merchant to agree with him the statement of their accounts. Money advances and the value of the flour issued are balanced against the value of the milk delivered to the cheese-making station. In an average year the result is generally a small profit or loss for the shepherd of perhaps £10 which is added to, or subtracted from, the total debt owed to the merchant. But in bad years when the grass has been poor, or many ewes have not produced lambs, the loss may be more substantial and this the merchant must bear if he does not want to force his client into selling his stock. If the shepherd is in difficulties, he may seek a further loan before leaving the plains. When the merchant grants this favour, the shepherd must accept a slightly lower price for his milk in the coming winter, about a farthing an 'oke' less than whatever proves to be the ruling rate for the next season.

When the shepherd arrives in his summer village in Zagori, he will generally have some money in his pocket. He immediately pays off the greater part but not all of the debt which in most cases he left behind in the village shop the previous autumn. This may amount to £20–£30 in some instances. Having paid off part of this debt he is in a better position to ask for credit later in the summer when he may again become short of cash. In the same way he will pay off some of his debts to winter shopkeepers when he first reaches the plains in the autumn.

At the end of July the shepherd takes the balance of his

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14 ●
Zagori
Greece EH1

summer milk money, if he has not already been granted a second advance. It is not usual for summer cheese merchants to carry the debts of the shepherds who sell milk to them beyond some very small amount such as £10.

In August the shepherd's financial cycle ends and begins again with the taking of the first advance on the winter milk. Here we must mention the loans which are available to the shepherd from the Agricultural Bank. Each pastoralist is entitled to a loan renewable every six months. Up to fifteen shillings for each milking ewe may be advanced at a rate of 6 per cent per annum. But it is a regulation that between the period 1st of July to the 1st of October the loan must be repaid in full with interest, for a period of twenty days. The shepherd therefore repays this loan with the money of his August milk advance. For the statutory period the principal remains in the bank, after which the shepherd takes it out again.

On all counts it is evident that the activities of the winter cheese merchant support the structure of credit on which the shepherd lives. The many advances which he gives to the shepherd make possible a continuous state of indebtedness to the bank and to the shops. Clearly an important element in the relationship between the cheese merchant and the shepherd is the overwhelming economic power of the merchant and the corresponding weakness of the shepherd. The ultimate sanction is the threat to claim repayment of the debt by taking the shepherd to law and obtaining a court order for the distraint of his sheep. In theory, it is always open to a shepherd to leave a merchant with whom he has quarrelled by selling his milk to another merchant who will then lend him the money to cancel his debt with his creditor. By the repayment of his debt he severs the relationship and escapes from his bondage. But in practice this is not often possible. In the first place, unless he can carry with him a number of other shepherds so that he is able to offer the milk of at least 1,000 ewes, he will not induce another cheese merchant to open a station in an area where he is not already established. Secondly, if he is attempting to leave a powerful merchant, his debt may be of the order of £100 or more, and a smaller merchant is unlikely to be able to sustain long-term loans on this scale. The whole technique of a merchant such as 'X' is to draw the shepherd into an amount of debt from which it will be virtually impossible for him to escape.

S
114 steel scabbards clinking against their spurs; and then pounded off over the plain toward the hills and the far-sounding goat bells.

S
123 When, suddenly, at the heart of a deafening
[361] whirlpool of half-wild dogs, I drew rein at the
[233] camp toward sunset, it turned out to be a *stani* of about fifty huts scattered among the trees around a spring. The whole place was alive with golden evening dust and bleating and barking and bells. The ewes and the she-goats, followed by their shrill young, were being driven with crooks and shouts and ear-sundering whistles and the heckling of dogs into a great semicircular pen of wicker and woven thorns and thatch on a steep slope.
S
[234] Once inside, they were herded toward a narrow lych-gate at one end of it, where they were seized by their horns, their tails, or their hind legs, clamped back to front between a shepherd's knees, and milked under protest, a few deft seconds for each captive, into bronze caldrons. Despite my brief acquaintance with Greece, I knew that strange arrivals in country places unloose a friendly hubbub of curiosity and inquisition. Not so here. The aloof drovers doubled the diligence of their tasks; their shouts became louder, the milking
S
[237] more urgent. For the first time, I saw these Biblical men at close range; their black cloaks and their hoods gave them the look of Benedictines who had gone native. There were glimpses, too, of the amazing magpie geometry of the women rising from their dim looms and appearing for a moment in the threshold of the smoke-plumed cones. An authoritative old man with a sweeping mustache and an elaborate crook finally silenced the dogs
S
[237] and asked me what I wanted. I could understand little of what he said; I had spent the two previous months, my first in Greece, in snowy Mount Athos, trying to convert my imperfect ancient Greek into the rudiments of the modern, and the Sarakatsán dialect was a further barrier. When they had gathered that, in spite of patched breeches and puttees, I was not a soldier — no sword or gun! — in fact, a foreigner from England, alone, and too young and as yet unpredatory-looking to be capable of much harm, their reserve began to thaw.

S
123 What was going on? They pointed down at
& the army glinting across the plain below through
169 its long cocoon of dust, and the blast of a trumpet came softly to our ears. What had all that noise been about, over by the Struma? *Bam-boum-boum? Rat-tat-tat-tat? N'tang n'tang?* I gleaned with surprise from their half-understood questions that they had only the roughest notion of what was afoot. They knew that there had been a *kinema* —

[p.86-A]

533 tracted patterns of great complexity. Repeated and accelerating trills led on to sustained high notes which left the tune quivering in midair before plummeting an octave to those low and long-drawn initial semibreves. Notes of an icy clarity alternated with notes of a stirring, reedy, and at moments almost rasping hoarseness. Then, after a long breath, they sailed again into limpid and piercing airs of a most touching softness, the same minor phrase recurring with diminishing volume, again and again, until the final high flourishes presaged the protracted bass notes once more, each of them preceded and followed by a lengthening hiatus of silence. One can think of no more apt or more accurate reflection in sound of the mountains and woods and flocks and the nomads' life.

12 Less lulling music cannot be imagined. But, overcome at last by the day's doings, I must have fallen asleep in the middle of it and been covered with a cloak where I lay. I woke up an hour after midnight to find the hut in the dark except for the embers of the fire and empty of all but the lightly snoring patriarch on the other side. Yorgo's hooded departing back was outlined for a moment in the doorway against the stars. There was a [234] murmur of voices in the cold outside as the shepherds, like monks before the night office, assembled for the first milking; this was the equivalent of matins in their pastoral book of hours. Then silence fell, and after a minute or two, a faint stirring of bells and of waking flocks was hushed by the returning currents of sleep.

082 Now, a little reluctantly, I must call a halt to these postscripts and flashbacks and return to the point where we began to deviate from the main thread of this narrative among the tassels and the buttoned upholstery of the carriage rocking back with us through the Thracian darkness between Sikarayia and Alexandroupolis.

Not many minutes had passed before the guard worked his perilous way along the duckboard outside and climbed in, not to punch our tickets, but for a chat. We were his only passengers. He was a dark, jovial, round-faced refugee from Smyrna.

"Well," he said cheerfully, offering cigarettes, "did you find out where they hide their pots of gold? Any for me? I could do with it, at this job."

We told him about the wedding. As I had already absorbed one or two hazy notions about the possibility of the extremely ancient descent of the Sarakatsáns, I asked him what he thought.

[p. 88-A]

412 /36/
415 /36/ All these utensils are made out of hard woods (plum, dogwood,
824 oak, boxwood, /assuming that "bois" in French text is misprint for "buis"/ briar root, etc.).

Other household utensils

415 These include, first of all, a special receptacle for water and wine, with a capacity of about five liters, which is called voutséli. It is a small cask of wood with a side opening (figs. 11 and 12).

The vedhoura is a tiny tub with a handle, which is used for the preparation of yogurt (fig. 13).

[432] In order to transport and store wine and water the Sarakatsani
[178] use casks bought commercially. And this is an innovation, since formerly they made the casks themselves (fig. 14).

412 Finally, there is the xethali, a piece of hard wood bent at an
415 obtuse angle, which serves as a poker (fig. 15); the plystroskafidho,
296 a kind of basin carved out of a big tree trunk used for laundry (fig. 16); and the big paddles used to wash and rinse linen and wool in the brooks (fig. 17).

Pastoral equipment

415 This consists of objects used chiefly in work with the animals, namely:

415 Milking pails: formerly carved out of a tree trunk, they now
234 have the shape of a tub formed with staves; they are either made on the spot or bought commercially. They are round receptacles with a capacity of 12 liters into which the animals are milked (figs. 18 and 19).

Large and small tubs: the Sarakatsani have various kinds of small tubs:

First, the small tubs in which they keep milk until it starts to curdle. It is with slightly sour milk that they make butter.

The churn in which milk is vertically beaten in order to produce
[824] butter is also a small tub. It is 1.20 meters high and flared in shape (it measures about 40 centimeters in diameter at the base and 60 centimeters at the top); it includes plunger made /37/ of a large branch

415
234
824

/37 cont./
of fir tree which, at one end, has four of its stems in the form of a cross. The extremities of this cross are connected by a stalk held firmly in place with cord from plants. The end of the plunger thus looks like a wheel set perpendicularly on its axis (figs. 20 and 21).

Fig. 20

Fig. 21

415 /38/
234 /38/ A cask large enough to permit the storage of up to 100
251 kilograms of cheese, and finally, a tub in which butter is kept (fig.22).

415 The staves of these large and small tubs, and the buckets are
824 very often adjusted and held in place by means of hoops formed from flexible branches of fir from which the needles have previously been
[177] removed. However, this technique is of recent introduction among the
[322] Sarakatsani. Formerly, they /the tubs/ were carved out of solid wood.

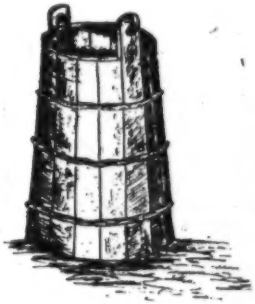

Fig. 22

Fig. 23

283
824
→

/93 cont./

221
233
484
361

Fig. 74

Then the second part of the column, made up of all the rest, starts moving. Of course, the entire column moves with the rhythm of the flocks; the latter cannot be deprived of grazing, nor rest during the hot hours during the migrations; they must also be milked.

221
233
234
484
361
[439]

In this connection it must be noted, parenthetically, that in the course of the migration the Sarakatsani do not /94/ make real cheese; they simply let the milk curdle and subsequently sell it as is in the villages through which they pass. The complete preparation of cheese begins again as soon as they arrive at the site of their new settlement.

/94 cont./

221 233 361 484 The nocturnal stops are marked by the following activities:

--Unloading of the animals.

--Pitching of the tents.

--Preparation of the spot where the fire will be kindled to cook the dinner.

[417] --Setting up of the circular enclosures to protect the livestock, made sometimes with the bags containing the equipment, sometimes with thorny shrubs which form a very precarious hedge.

[462] All this work is done by the women.

The next day, at dawn, they recommence the march after having performed the same activities, but in reverse. And the journey continues in the rhythm of the flock until the arrival at the place chosen for the new settlement. It may take several days, sometimes more than a week.

Working with the livestock

233 [434] Strictly speaking, it is a question of the profit that is derived from the flocks, a profit realized from the milk, the shearing and the meat.

233 234 While ewes and she-goats are nursing their young, they are not milked, or very exceptionally. Weaning, which goes on during the month of January marks the time when the milking commences.

[343] [415] At the hour of milking, ewes and she-goats are led into the "stroungha." Pushed by a shepherd who is inside, the animals leave one by one; they are then stopped by people sitting to the right and left of the exit, who milk them into special receptacles, "kardhari" (fig. 75).

233 234 221 The milking schedules vary according to the date: between the beginning of the month of January and the end of the month of June, the milking takes place twice a day, morning and evening. From the beginning of the month of July until the end of the month of August

/94 cont./

233 234 221 (the time when milking stops), milking takes place around noon, that is to say, once a day. However, the intervals become progressively more spread out, inasmuch as the production of milk decreases as the season advances; thus, toward the 15th of August milking is done only every two or three days.

236 /95/ As for shearing, everything relating to it has already been pointed out in connection with the wool crafts. Hence we shall not go back over it here.

262 439 Finally, we must emphasize that the meat is almost exclusively a means of trade for the Sarakatsani, since they eat it only five

142 291 343 234 516 415

Fig. 75

262 [439] or six times a year. On very rare occasions they "sacrifice" a lamb. This is their own expression, and it is a sufficient indication of their attitude with regard to this act.

233 [262] Likewise, they never kill female animals (except when these are sterile) because it is precisely on the female that their economy rests.

[432] The male lambs are the ones which, after 40 days, are gradually

/109 cont./

252 prepared in the same way as the preceding. This bread appears on the
262 tables /110/ of the Sarakatsani women only on special occasions
574 (the arrival of a visitor, holidays, weddings, etc.).
527

252 Culinary art: Here again it is necessary to distinguish between
262 a number of cooked foods, on the one hand, and pastries on the other, which /together/ make up the basis of the diet of the Sarakatsani.

However, preliminary to the description of the different
128 Sarakatsani "dishes" it is suitable to begin with the method of pre-
234 paring of cheese since cheese and butter make up the main ingredients of most foods.

234 We know that the milk produced is sold in bulk to a contractor
252 who transforms it into butter and cheese. This system is not practiced
439 either in the course of the seasonal migrations--the contractor not
22 being a nomad who follows the caravan--or, with better reason, in the course of the first summer months when the milk production decreases rapidly from day to day until it is near zero, so that the presence of the contractor unnecessary. It is during these two periods that the milk is made into cheese by the Sarakatsani themselves, to take care of their own needs. This is how they go about it:

234 The milk, at milking temperature of perhaps slightly heated
252

412 ←

Fig. 92

415 →

Fig. 91

/110 cont./

234 252 is poured into a kettle (fig. 91) to which a certain amount of rennet is added. A half hour later the milk, stirred with wooden spatulas (fig. 92) is curdled.

234 252 415 /111/ By means of a kind of large spoon, a "ladle" rather, called "koutlas" (fig. 93) the curdled milk is decanted into the "tsandiles" or bags made from a square piece of transparent cheesecloth the four

Fig. 93

corners of which are tied together. This bag is then suspended from the branches of a tree (fig. 94) in order to let the whey drip into small tubs below.

234 252 The next day the drained cheese is placed on a small low table; it is cut in slices and, after being salted, it is placed in a tub [251] where it remains five or six days. This cheese is then ready to be eaten; it is stored in casks or goatskin bottles.

That is not all. The whey drained into the small tub is decanted into a kettle in which it is heated. When the temperature /Figure 94 appears here/ rises there is formed on the surface a kind of white cheese low in fat, which is gathered up with a spoon and which is called "mytzithra." This cheese is then treated like the preceding. [231] The remaining liquid is used as food for the dogs and pigs.

252 262 Now a rapid presentation of the most characteristic Sarakatsani cooked foods:

--"Katsamaki": this is a mixture of hot water and maize flour seasoned with salt and pepper, which is /112/ boiled to a pasty

/111/

234
252
415

Fig. 94

252
262 /112 cont./ consistency. Sometimes oil or butter and cheese are added.

--"Kourkoutti" is a variation of "katsamaki": it is the same mixture but to which is added a small quantity of onions that are browned separately in a frying pan.

--"Tripsana": pieces of dry maize bread are boiled in salted water or in a vegetable broth. Seasoning and oil or butter are added.

--Almost the same thing is done with pieces of wheat bread which are also boiled, but in butter and cheese is added as well. This dish is called "papàra."

--"Kousmari" is another dish in the Sarakatsani diet. Some cheese just prepared and not yet salted is placed in a receptacle and exposed to the sun until it is slightly fermented. The receptacle is then put on the fire and a little flour is added. The mixture is stirred until it thickens.

--Finally, "nerstà" or "birbilonia" are a kind of dough made with wheat flour. One spreads the flour on a table, sprinkles it lightly

596 /159 cont./
264 The meals, which the women take care of each in turn, are taken
[562] together, allowing for the inevitable separation by sex.

If the shepherds find themselves a relatively short distance from
[233] the camp, but nevertheless too far to be able to leave their flocks at mealtime, it is not unusual for a woman or a child to bring them their food.

596 The work then, which is performed jointly, follows the rule of
462 division of tasks according to sex, as shown in the following plan:

Work reserved exclusively for men: the wood craft, the preparation of skins, herding and transactions with the outside.

Work done by the women: the working of wool, the making of clothing building, gathering, the preparation of foods and of bread, lighting and fire.

This division of tasks is the general rule, a rule which naturally involves exceptions and subtle distinctions, chief of which are:

[825] The care and maintenance of goats is left to the women because goats
[233] "are possessed by the devil." Thus, the men must not touch them. They limit themselves with leading them to pasture. All the rest is incumbent on the women, inasmuch as the Sarakatsani believe that women are more competent than the men to enter into relations with unknown forces.

[23] The occasioned raising of pigs and poultry is likewise left to
[235] the women.

[361] We have seen that the leading and the protection of the flocks in
[22] the course of seasonal migrations is the business of the men. The
[484] women take care of the transportation of all belongings and the setting-up of the camp.

[236] The shearing of the sheep is work generally done by the men, although the help of the women is sometimes required. On the other hand, the shearing of goats is an exclusively female task.

[234] In milking, men and women cooperate without differentiation.

[313] The gathering of wood for making various objects is a task for men,
[322]

596
462 /159 cont./

[313] as is the manufacture /160/ of the objects themselves. The Sarakatsani
[322] youth specializes from childhood on in wood craft, and is proud of his competence and his skill. Likewise, the work that involves the decoration of these objects is always done by the men. The women never participate, even when it is a matter of distaff or a spindle.

[342] Since certain phases of the construction of huts demand a physical strength that the women do not have (the erection of the framework of the round hut, for example), the men take charge of this work. But here their participation ends. All the Sarakatsani buildings are the work of the women.

[234] As far as milk products are concerned, the men take care of this
[439] work only in very rare cases where the Sarakatsani market these products themselves. All the cheese and butter meant for family consumption is prepared by the women.

[252] The shepherds straying far from camp, as they do during the summer,
[233] prepare their own bread and cook their food. Here necessity prevails over custom according to which women take charge of the preparation of meals.

596
233 However, there is also another division of tasks, based on technical
463 criteria this time. It concerns, to begin with, the work of shepherds. Each concerns himself with a certain category of livestock, according to his own capabilities. Thus one may distinguish shepherds who are in charge respectively:

--of lambs up to the age of one year,

--of ewes from that age on up,

--of ewes that are pregnant, as well as of milch ewes,

--of sterile ewes,

--finally, of rams.

The most experienced shepherds take care of milch ewes and those that are pregnant. Then come the shepherds who are in charge of the lambs and the little ewes. The other categories do not require special abilities.